2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
● 434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being
[464] excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the